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MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

TITLE:

Citizen Warrior: Major General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain A Study in Command Leadership

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

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Executive Summary

Title: Citizen Warrior: Major General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain A Study in Command Leadership

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Thesis: An examination of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain's conduct during the Civil War is shown to meet the Clausewitzian criteria for "military genius"; he exemplified in stressful and challenging situations temperament, courage, sensitive and discriminating judgment, skilled intelligence, intellect (to include presence of mind and imagination), determination, and strength of character.

Discussion: There have been many successful command leaders over the ages. This study will conclude that military command leaders are made, not born, and a look at the traits of leadership as noted by the authors of military classics is still applicable to contemporary leaders. In particular, Clausewitz's material concerning "Military Genius" provides excellent material that one can test in a case study. An examination of Joshua Chamberlain's conduct during the Civil War using the criteria established by Clausewitz allows us to determine if he could be classified as a genius. History has documented that Chamberlain is an exemplar at both the tactical and strategic levels of war. The tactical describes the Little Round Top action in terms relevant to contemporary battlefield leadership. This event characterizes Chamberlain as having synergy, simultaneity and depth, anticipation, balance, leverage, timing and tempo, operational reach and approach. At the strategic level, Joshua Chamberlain's greatest contribution to our nation may have been not at Gettysburg or Petersburg, but at Appomattox. Chosen as commander of troops at which the Confederate Army laid down its arms and colors, a noble salute by Joshua Chamberlain history has shown that it was an important and significant first step in the reunification of the country torn apart by war. Joshua Chamberlain's superior command leadership, imaginative planning, and aggressive conduct during the Civil War provide a powerful example of exceptional combat leadership. Joshua Chamberlain's genius resided in his ability to exhibit all those identified under the Clausewitizian criteria for "Military Genius." Joshua Chamberlain's genius residing in his outlook on management and leadership also tended toward the pragmatic. Far from being influenced primarily by irrelevant and high-flown notions based upon "book learning", Chamberlain learned through study and application, as well as by working with mentoring associates, to put theory into practice the discarded those approaches which proved non-useful and carefully preserved those precepts and practices which had been successfully applied in both military and civilian settings. Joshua Chamberlain was a man of character, blessing him with both good nature and good nurture. He seems to have inherited "good genes". He certainly received excellent training, both as a youth and as a young man. He had the good fortune to be born at the "right time", one in which there were numerous opportunities to excel--to "make a mark".

Conclusion: After studying the descriptions laid down by Clausewitz and then studying the decisions and actions of Joshua Chamberlain in the events in which he was involved during the Civil War, Joshua Chamberlain as a general would qualify for the title of "genius."

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Preface

My reasons for writing this paper are rooted in my education as a young Marine and the emphasis always placed on leadership, and how we were encouraged to show initiative and imagination as we developed as leaders of Marines. This drive often modeled from figures in our nation's history, Confederate generals such as Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson were often used as the type of leaders we should be in combat. As a Second Lieutenant at The Basic School I was required to read the historical novel *The Killer Angels* by Michael Shaara. The author's ability to convey the thoughts of men in war as well as their confusion, the aptly named "fog of battle", provided me with a deeper understanding of the stress on commanders at the Battle of Gettysburg. The most inspiring figure in the book, however, was the then Colonel Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, whose 20th Maine regiment of volunteers held the far left of Union's left flank on the second day of the battle. This unit's bravery at Little Round Top helped turned the tide of the war against the rebels on the afternoon of 2 July 1863.

I would like to express appreciation to several people who helped me in completing this project. First, special thanks go to my wife, Sara, and my children, Connor and Madalynn, who supported me throughout my research, writing, and revisions; they helped keep me focused when my attention strayed. I could not have finished this undertaking without her love and positive reinforcement. I would also like to thank my mentors, Dr. Donald F. Bittner and Lieutenant Colonel Wayne Beyer, USMC, who provided me with valuable feedback in making this paper relevant and worthwhile. Finally, I would like to thank my parents. To my Mom, Carolyn, I owe my gratitude for raising me to be open

minded and curious about life, and to my Dad, Lawrence, I owe my appreciation for inspiring in me the drive and dedication to become a Marine, with the discipline and intellectual rigor to do things right and well.

INTRODUCTION

"The inspiration of a noble cause enables men to do things they did not dream themselves capable of before." -- Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain.

Since antiquity, successful leaders have been studied, be they amateurs or professionals. Through this illustration military leaders have revealed their power and defining moments on the battlefield. On the field of battle the crucial element of combat power is leadership. This implies that maneuver, fire power, and security are less important and leadership often has a greater impact on the outcome of battle than the soldiers or technology.²

Clausewitz have long been the source from which the subject of command leadership in the military has been studied. John Shy writes, "Jomini saw war in terms of simplicity and clarity, viewing it in personal or heroic terms, but always under the control of a masterful commander." Sun Tzu believed that the concept of leadership or commandership meant those abilities and qualities a general possessed. Virtues such as courage, wisdom, benevolence, sincerity, and strictness were traits of a commander. Clausewitz, in this classic work, *On War*, wrote "the personalities of statesmen and soldiers are such important factors that in war above all it is vital not to underrate them." What Clausewitz is saying is that one must attribute a great deal of importance to the "military genius" of those in command of the battlefield.

There have been many successful command leaders over the ages. This study will examine whether military command leaders are made, not born, and a look at the traits of leadership as noted by the authors of military classics and is it still applicable to contemporary leaders? In particular, Clausewitz's material concerning military genius

provides excellent model that one can test in a case study. An examination of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain's conduct during the Civil War using the criteria established by Clausewitz permits an assessment to determine if Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain could be classified as a genius. After studying the descriptions laid down by Clausewitz and then studying the decisions and actions of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain in the events surrounding the conflict during the Civil War, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain as a tactical leader would qualify for the title of "genius" at that level of war.

SETTING THE STAGE – CHAMBERLAIN IN FICTION, FILM, AND HISTORIES

History and war in particular, take on characteristics that are both complex and chaotic. Sometimes the massive forces in play on both sides come down to one person standing at a critical juncture of history. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain stood at such a juncture on the critical hill in the critical battle of the war to separate the United States. His heroic actions preserved victory for the Union, and have consequences that reach down to the present day. If another man had stood there, perhaps things would have gone differently. The fact that they did not is testament to the impact that one brave individual can have. Chamberlain was a hero. But so was every other man on that bloody hill that fateful day in July 1863. So why such a love affair with the college professor turned soldier from Maine? To answer this question we must look through the lens of popular culture and how they view the man, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain.

The late Civil War historian Brian Pohanka reveals the popular image stating, "Many know of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain only through Michael Shaara's novel, *The Killer Angels*, or the film based on that book, *Gettysburg*. Considered by many to be the

"knightliest soldier in the Federal army," Chamberlain embodied everything that was noble and brave, not only about the North, but for soldiers on both sides. He was an eloquent, courageous and thoughtful man who wrote voluminously about his experiences and gave moving speeches. If you wanted to pick a paradigm of gallantry, Chamberlain would be it. Chamberlain has become something of a Civil War "cult figure" as a result -- hailed as the hero of Little Round Top -- and established as one of the most popular and revered personalities of our nation's bloodiest conflict. Joshua Chamberlain was a professor in a state virtually untouched by the war, but out of principle he decided to serve his country. He represents the ideal citizen-soldier, an intellectual who voluntarily leaves his comfortable civilian life to become an excellent soldier. Chamberlain represents a man with limited military experience who rises to the occasion when placed in a position to save his regiment, army, and his country. The fact that Chamberlain is well educated allows Shaara to examine the thoughts and motivations of the Union soldiers during the war. 8 Shaara's title reflects the leaders during the time of the Civil War; men who out of principle or circumstances end up killing fellow countrymen; leaders who with one command sent thousands of soldiers into battle to die fighting fellow countrymen over ideals.9

As Shaara introduces Colonel Joshua Chamberlain and the 20th Maine Regiment in Chapter 2 of *The Killer Angels*, he uses the incident of the mutineers from the 2nd Maine Regiment as a lead in the chapter. Through this event, Shaara portrays Chamberlain as a commander with a genuine concern for mankind, preserving the dignity of his men while still ensuring firm discipline is understood and implemented. The burgeoning devotion was further described in the film, *Gettysburg*. The scene has

Chamberlain, played by actor Jeff Daniels, turning to the group of mutineers and saying, "Gentlemen, I think if we lose this fight, we lose the war....so if you do care to join us, I'd be personally very grateful." Chamberlain's speech to the mutineers emphasizing freedom and fighting for each other confirms that he was an officer who possessed ethics and morals and the determination to do what was right. Shaara's use of Chamberlain and the title of the novel accurately depict man and his response to war. This is Shaara's way of saying that man is basically good, but for principles and ideals he will fight and die.

Michael Shaara's selection of Colonel Chamberlain as a character in his novel depicts his personality accurately through the speech emphasizing reliance on each other as men. Michael Shaara's novel *The Killer Angels* and director Ron Maxwell's movie *Gettysburg*, though partially inaccurate, overall does capture the essence of the character of Joshua Chamberlain.

To admire Chamberlain through novel and film is not necessarily a bad thing, but it is through the pages of history that we reveal his true greatness. His outstanding accomplishments are written about in many books, archival reports, and manuscripts readily available to the inquisitive individual. He was a genuine hero, much deserving of our study, admiration and respect. Had he not been where he was, when he was, the Confederacy might well have won the Civil War. But who was Chamberlain, really? It's easy to run out of adjectives in describing him, just as it's easy to make him sound too good to be true: courageous, learned, selfless, resolute, thoughtful, articulate, modest. But even Jeff Daniels's excellent portrayal of him in *Gettysburg* doesn't convey the full picture of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. Bruce Catton called him a "hawk-nosed theologian turned soldier." James M. McPherson wrote, "A man of letters and peace, he

became an outstanding warrior." Edwin Coddington describes Chamberlain as "trained for the classroom and the pulpit, this man of peace had an unusual affinity for combat, and now his blood was up; there would be retreating today." Geoffrey C. Ward, author of the book accompanying Ken Burns's series, wrote, "I confess that I began further research of Chamberlain with some trepidation, concerned that our admiring portrait of him might somehow have been overdrawn, that a persistent biographer would have turned up flaws in a character that had seemed to us astonishingly consistent. I needn't have worried. Chamberlain is just as impressive as we thought he was - and more interesting." This, I believe, touches upon the essence of Chamberlain's message -- to his contemporaries, and to us today. "Truly, Chamberlain's was a deeply spiritual, almost mystical philosophy. He believed with all his heart that there were deeds worth daring, and suffering worth enduring, and lives worth giving -- for ideals that were "dimly seen, but dearly held". That the devotion of those who were willing to risk and give all for what they held sacred entailed a transcendence of self -- "a way of losing that is finding". The legacy of that sacrifice, that transcendence, would speak to future generations.¹³

"MILITARY GENIUS": THE CLAUSEWITZIAN MODEL

In order to appreciate the key element of the Clausewitzian concept of "Military Genius" (Clausewitz, *On War*, Book I, Chapter 3, pp. 100-112), it is necessary to breakdown his terms as in applies to the modern battlefield commander. For Clausewitz, the quality of the commander was not something paranormal or god-given, but simply a very highly developed mental aptitude for a particular occupation. The Marine Corps recognized the term "genius" as leadership which is defined as "the sum of those qualities

of intellect, human understanding and moral character that enables a person to inspire and control a group of people successfully." As an effective leader (genius) a person must first understand what leadership is and what traits a leader exhibits. Contrary to some current political rhetoric, leadership is indelibly linked to character; without character, no leader can be truly successful. One definition of a leadership (genius) is "one possessing exceptional intellectual and creative power." Historian Douglas Pike takes the definition a step further stating, "The great leaders (geniuses) of history ... contributed little new knowledge to their respective fields. They had instead the rare ability to take what was already known and synthesize it—by seeing relationships and connections no one else noticed—into a field theory or new coherent whole, obvious to all once it was stated." Leaders possess the ability to analyze warfare from the social, political, moral, and emotional perspectives, as well as the tactical and strategic levels, transforming them into what Clausewitz refers as "Military Genius."

It is important to note that the "Military Genius", like any other, consists in a harmonious combination of elements in which one or the other ability may predominate but none may be in conflict with the rest. "Military Genius" is characterized by four elements: totality, holism, vital dynamics, and egalitarianism. The genius for war represents a totality, because it comprises all the facets of a personality, both rational and emotional. It is the physical courage that is inherent to the "Military Genius." Such leaders is this indifferent to danger, hence reliable, calm and more dependable; they act without excessive feeling or emotion due to their connection to ambition or patriotism. This emotional connection can provide the "Military Genius" the ability to shut out the suffering (to include casualties) and suffering of his subordinates. ¹⁷

The **holistic** element of the "Military Genius" consists of three essential sets of skills or competencies required – work skills, people skills, and self-skills. *Work skills* are those competencies that require the genius of war to be technically good at what they do. This is the content or specific areas of expertise that must be mastered in order to be successful on the battlefield. *People skills* are those competencies that enable a leader to successfully interact with individuals and groups. These are the interpersonal skills that enable the ongoing exchange of information between people so vital to mission accomplishment. *Self-skills* are the intrapersonal competencies that set true "Military Genius" apart from the masses. Self-skills are essentially invisible from the outside looking in. They are sensed or felt, rather than observed. Intangible as they may be, self-skills are the core competencies that make such a profound difference in the quality and depth of the "Military Genius."

The examination of the third element reveals that the genius for war is dynamic in a **vitalistic** sense. This requires the "Military Genius" to have a strong mind as opposed to brilliant. They react to a situation with sensitive, discriminating, and intuitive judgment. This skilled intelligence leads to *coup d'oeil*: quick recognition of reality on the battlefield or the campaign, which is linked to one's ability to make decisions in uncertain situations. *Determination* and *presence of mind* (also steady nerve) provides the "Military Genius" with the courage to accept responsibility and the ability to function in a domain of the most dangerous of circumstances. ¹⁹ Finally, the genius for war is structured in an **egalitarian** way, which presumes that any individual, regardless of background, could lead a body of troops in combat as long as the leader had the requisite ability. The American Civil War (1861-1865) provides a well-documented example of

men who had little, if any, prior military training and gave rise to a number of gifted commanders. The reverse also occurred the natural ability of these leaders produced a veritable school of military command around them, declaring that genius alone was the true sign of leadership, and that leaders were born, not made. <u>Does this argument hold</u> true as we examine the leadership of a school teacher from Maine.

JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN: THE MAN

The key takeaway from the concept of the "Military Genius" is that one cannot help but believe that the nation's successful military predecessors in that war functioned as Clausewitz postulated. Whether through study or through gut feeling, they possessed a certain "genius" and vision for which maneuverists wrote the future of warfare. It is contended that Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain exhibited all these qualities in abundance. He was competent at what he did. He was honest and honorable in his dealings with superiors, peers, and subordinates- a man to count on. He was inspiring both in speech, writing, and action, a person who captured the imagination and quickened the heart. Joshua Chamberlain was blessed with both good nature and good nurture. He seems to have inherited "good genes". He certainly received an excellent education, both as a youth and as a young man, and once in uniform training in books and experience. He had the good fortune to be born at the "right time", one in which there were numerous opportunities to excel--to "make a mark".

Given the human as having a rich and complex personality, it is essential to examine lives from multiple and complementary perspectives. Modern military theorists have tended to stray from the classical mainstream thought and concentrate on

psychological characteristics of their subjects. They suggest that it is possible to identify good leaders by their exhibition of appropriate personal qualities. John Gardner, the author of, *On Leadership*, writes "Leaders come in many forms; with many styles...some find their strength in eloquence, some in judgment, some in courage. In recent years the US Army offers that the good leader exhibits: bearing, courage, decisiveness, endurance, initiative, integrity, judgment, justice, loyalty, tact and unselfishness. Military leaders are encouraged to develop and demonstrate these characteristics as they achieve successively more responsible positions within the military hierarchy. This paper not only will use Clausewitz's "Military Genius" criteria, it will also explore the leadership psychological make-up of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain from these two complementary perspectives in understanding him as an individual.

Through the pages of history, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was considered to be "one of the greatest small-unit combat leaders to be chronicled in war." Under the watchful eye of Colonel Adelbert Ames, West Point graduate and veteran of the battle of First Bull Run (Manassas), together, they developed and lead the volunteer regiment, the 20th Maine, turning this collection of ragtag and bobtail civilians into a fine fighting instrument. In 1863, they had a major influence in the outcome of the Civil War. How does a man with no formal education in military leadership take off his academic robes to don the Union blue of the Army of the Potomac? Certainly it was thought that a college professor would be the last to lead men into battle. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain seemed soft, lacking character, too lost in intellectual pursuits, to be a man of action. But in fact, he was just the opposite. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain is an ideal example of the citizen soldier, the school teacher who is not a man of war but who, when a crisis

arises "projects a mannequin-like image of coolness and courage that would inspirit the hard-pressed riflemen"²³, goes forward into battle and becomes great at it. He was, in the truest sense, an idealist. It was a war fought by idealists, by people who believed in something.²⁴ However to achieve that goal, they also had to be men of action, develop a skill of war.

Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was a man who was blessed with a remarkable resume' of accomplishments. He was a scholar whose diligence brought him a secure position as professor at Bowdoin College. His innovative mind made him one of the best administrators that Bowdoin College ever had, later serving as its President for 12 years. He succeeded in the political arena, elected to four terms as Governor of Maine. For Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, service to others brought the meaning of life to him. From the time he dedicated himself to study as an undergraduate at Bowdoin College in 1848 and at the Bangor Theological Seminary, to the point at which he retired from public life he viewed service to the common good as the purpose of a well-lived life and thus a wellspring of greatness. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain had many opportunities to enact this ethic on the battlefields of the Civil War where he distinguished himself as perhaps the best of the citizen-generals. This service to his nation divided by war is the key to comprehending him as well as our fascination with him.²⁵ During a speech on the dedication of the Maine monuments at Gettysburg, October 3, 1889 Chamberlain eloquently described the meaning of service: "This is the great reward of service. To live, far out and on, in the life of others...to give life's best for such high stake that it shall be found again unto life eternal."²⁶

COURAGE UNDER FIRE

War is an inherently dangerous enterprise that can influence the behavior of its participants; as Clausewitz says, war is force, i.e., violence, and this will include emotion – and it effects those involved in both physical and moral sense. In his book, *On War*, Clausewitz describes this danger as part of the friction that is peculiar to war. Under the influence of physical danger, "the light of reason is refracted in a manner quite different from that which is normal in academic speculation.... the ordinary man can never achieve a state of perfect unconcern in which his mind can work with normal flexibility." For a further discussion on this, see "Clausewitz and His Works", by Christopher Bassford. Physical courage, however, is much more common than moral courage. Clausewitz gives several criteria for genius. He describes courage as the first requirement, but accepts that physical courage is a given; rather the key is moral courage, the ability to accept and cope with responsibility. This point is also recognized by the Chinese theorist, Sun Tzu, who writes, "A courageous leader wins by grabbing the opportunities that come his way without hesitating."

Joshua Chamberlain was given such an opportunity in 1861. He had a secure position as professor at Bowdoin College. He had married Frances "Fanny" Adams, fathered two children, and bought a home in Brunswick. Joshua Chamberlain had every reason and every excuse to avoid this war, but he was determined to go. As news of the brave men fighting and the casualties mounting at far off battlefields such as Bull Run and Shiloh trickled back to Brunswick, his interest in the conflict began to grow. Chamberlain began to feel the moral strings pulling at him. Service to his country was the right thing to do because one had to take one's part.

Clausewitz tells us that, "war is the realm of danger; therefore, courage is the soldier's first requirement. Courage is of two kinds: courage in the face of personal danger, and the courage to accept responsibility." Joshua Chamberlain provides a good example of courage to accept responsibility when he realized that his true patriotic calling required him to offer his services to Governor Washburn of Maine and the Union. In July 1862, Chamberlain sent this letter to Governor Washburn offering his services to the state.

For seven years past I have been Professor in Bowdoin College. I have always been interested in military matters, and what I do not know in that line I know how to learn. will not cease until the men of the North are willing to leave good positions, and sacrifice the dearest personal interests, to rescue our Country from Desolation, and defend the National Existence against treachery at home and jeopardy abroad. This war must be ended, with a swift and strong hand; and every man ought to come forward and ask to be placed at his proper post. I am sensible that I am proposing personal sacrifices, which would not probably be demanded of me; but I believe this to be my duty, and I know I can be of service to my Country in this hour of peril. Yours to command. --J.L. Chamberlain.³²

Governor Washburn then offered him the colonelcy of a new volunteer regiment, the 20th Maine. However, realizing both his aspirations to command and but being acutely aware of his own lack of military knowledge, Chamberlain declined the position in favor of the number two spot, lieutenant colonel. This demonstrated that Joshua Chamberlain had the wisdom and understanding of command responsibility, which along with his natural military ability, education and intelligence, would one day make him a very capable military commander. Joshua Chamberlain said that accepting the subordinate position would allow him the time to master the art of command in war.³³

In his biography of Joshua L. Chamberlain, *Soul of a Lion*, Willard Wallace writes, "In August 1862 the military career of one of the most remarkable officers and

one of the hardest fighters ever to serve in ranks of the American army began."³⁴ For Joshua Chamberlain this journey began with a man whom the colonelcy of the 20th was given, Adelbert Ames, West Point graduate and veteran of the battle of First Bull Run (Manassas) earning Ames the Congressional Medal of Honor. Taking Joshua Chamberlain under his "wing", Ames begins to teach him the art of soldiering. In a letter to Fanny dated August 1862, Chamberlain wrote his wife, "I study, I tell you, every military work I can find. And it is no small labor to master the evolutions of a battalion and brigade. I am bound to understand everything. And I want you to send my "Jomini Art Of War"....the Col. And I are going to read it. He to instruct me, as he is kindly doing in everything now."35 Joshua Chamberlain's passion for learning would guide him down a typically diligent approach to him being a soldier; as part of this progress, he reads meticulously in military manuals. He would reach out to those men who new firsthand what it took to be a soldier and leader, and asked them to set-up the equivalent of study groups so that Chamberlain and others could gain from their experience on the battlefield. An understanding that Chamberlain and the men of the 20th Maine would soon appreciate firsthand.

The 20th Maine's inception to war and Joshua Chamberlain's first demonstration of courage in the face of adversity came on the last day of the battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg), 20 September 1862. Assigned to General Porter's Fifth Corps, the 20th Maine took part in conducting a reconnaissance in force in Lee's rear guard. Reaching the Virginia bank, the boys from the Twentieth began to climb the bluff when shots rang out. Quickly forming their line just over the crest, the men began to hear the whistling of bullets sailing above their heads as the volume of musketry began to increase.³⁶ Before

they could fully engage the enemy in gray the order to retreat across the Potomac River was given. Coming under fire from Confederate sharp shooters on the bluff, Joshua Chamberlain displayed "conspicuous courage and calmness as he sat astride his horse" steadying men of his own regiment and others through a deep place in the river where many soldiers from a New York regiment lost their lives.³⁷ With minie' balls splattering and plopping all around him at the crossing site, Chamberlain was an inviting target for Confederate marksman. He was not hit but the horse was wounded in the head near the bridle and became the first of many to be shot under the valiant Joshua Chamberlain. But the Maine men returned with only a few wounded.³⁸

It is important to emphasize that Clausewitz wants to find or generate conditions under which outcomes may be guaranteed; however a leader must have flexibility in the face of the chaos of war. "Leadership is a matter of intelligence, trustworthiness, humaneness, courage, and sternness. Humaneness in the face of the chaos we are facing today and will face tomorrow will permit soldiers to remain psychologically ready and must be an area that our leaders focus on." ³⁹ The skillful and successful leader is the one who can, in the chaos of a situation, use these attributes, along with their "iron will and a powerful sense of purpose" to overcome the chaos and the opposition that confront him. Even with the newly formed 20th Maine in limited action at Antietam (Sharpsburg), nothing could have been a worse battle to have been committed to major action than Fredericksburg. It was a campaign and a battle that was poorly planned and executed. At Fredericksburg, temporary command of a three regiment formation was given to Colonel Ames and as a result Lieutenant Colonel Chamberlain took temporary command of the 20th Maine. Thus, Chamberlain had watched the initial attack from across the river

literally in tears as he witnessed the sacrificial death of so many troops as he later commented on his regiment's action. "We were directed straight forward, toward the left of the futile advance we had seen so fearfully cut down. The air was thick with the flying, bursting shells, whooping solid shot. On we pushed, up slopes slippery with blood." -- Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. ⁴⁰

They had to stay on the field through that freezing night and all through the next day. This became a gruesome and grisly experience for Lieutenant Colonel Chamberlain because the only cover that some of his troops could find were the dead bodies of the Union soldiers who had been killed in the previous attacks. As he wrote about this, "The living and the dead were alike to me. I slept, though my ears were filled with the cries and groans of the wounded, and the ghastly faces of the dead almost made a wall around me. We lay there, hearing the dismal thud of bullets into the dead flesh of our life-saving bulwarks." The battle of Fredericksburg had been the 20th Maine's real baptism of fire, and they had proved themselves admirably. Lieutenant Colonel Joshua Chamberlain's courage, sound leadership, and vision of the battlefield dynamics demonstrated that he was beginning to master the art of command as one of Colonel Ames' students.⁴¹ The day's events were chronicled in a letter dated 15 December 1862, by "an officer of the 20th Maine," of which extracts were permitted to be published in the newspaper; the letter was written before the battle was over, possibly by Adjutant Brown. He ends the letter saying "He (Colonel Ames) behaved splendidly, so did Lieut. Colonel Chamberlain."⁴²

In the spring of 1863, Ames was promoted to general in order to take command of the 11th Corps, and Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was promoted to colonel and assumed command of the 20th Maine. Less than two months after taking command, Colonel

Chamberlain's chance to prove himself in his new rank would come soon on a hot day on 2 July on the battlefields of Gettysburg. The horrors of war can leave an indelible mark on a person and guide them not only in the decision making process but provides that emotion for life. Motives explain one's choice of goals, persistence toward those aims, and the manner in which the objectives are pursued. Motive can go a long way in helping decipher Joshua Chamberlain's "fire in the belly": what or who influenced his life choices – before, during, and after the war. For Joshua Chamberlain the desire to serve his country has now morphed into the service of others.

This service to his men often times came in the form of discipline. Joshua Chamberlain's biographer Willard Wallace wrote years later that "Chamberlain had a reputation during the war of being a severe disciplinarian but one who was also just, who looked after his men, who shared their hardships, who expected no feat of courage that he was not ready to participate in or even lead." Joshua Chamberlain himself sometime after the war stated that:

Discipline was very strong in the army. Why my own brother would not sit down in my presence he would stand at attention until he was ordered. Some younger officers would slap some superiors on the back thinking it increased their importance in the eyes of others, little knowing the contempt they placed up themselves and the officer offset what they apparently gained. 45

Clausewitz identified morale as a fundamental military principle that is seen as critical to organizational success. A leader who wishes to discipline with pride and immaculate purity recognizes that it can be a powerful tool in shaping behavior. So, if morale were about behavior or performance, discipline might be a tool for improving morale. The art of influencing human behavior toward organizational goals is further explained by Sun

Tzu, "If benevolent, he empathizes with his men, and appreciates their toil and diligence. When he displays sincerity, his troops are assured of their just rewards as well as punishments. With strictness, he inculcates discipline in his men. The leader in any situation defines and creates his organizational unit by his skills of making correct decisions and his character." In the case of Joshua Chamberlain what he gained was a unit that was magnificently trained and felt a since of loyalty to its commander.

In the spring of 1863, Joshua Chamberlain, college professor, had completed the transition to Colonel Joshua Chamberlain, soldier. This transition enabled Chamberlain to leave the security of his profession and home for the hardships of military life during the time of war, he "chafed under the inaction" at times, and he stated, "...no danger and no hardship ever makes me wish to get back to that college life again. I can't breathe when I think of those last two years. Why, I would spend my whole life campaigning rather than endure that again."46 Now, in the great camps of the Union Army, he found an excitement and a new camaraderie that he had never known before. He came into his own, and that he would not be the same person who had left for war in 1862. The commitment that Colonel Joshua Chamberlain made to the Union and to his men would bring "Chamberlain to the most dangerous place at the most trying time: the fate of the battle and the fate, thus, of the Union" rested with a small piece of ground known as Little Round Top," according to American historian Thomas Desjardin. ⁴⁷ The actions that took place on that fateful day 2 July clearly illustrate the courage that Colonel Joshua Chamberlain possessed and his ability to influence his men to accomplish the mission given to the 20th Maine. Effective leaders set a good example, never asking their subordinates to do those things that they are unwilling to do--or try to do-- themselves.

The traits displayed by Chamberlain models the way that is consistent with one's beliefs in pursuit of the organizational mission.

From Chancellorsville, the 20th Maine, and the rest of the Army of the Potomac, began their pursuit of Lee's army in late May 1863. During that long march in the blazing sun, Chamberlain came down with sunstroke and was briefly left behind to recover. Without him, the 20th fought at Middleburg, VA, under the temporary command of the 44th New York's Lieutenant Colonel Freeman Conner. After a long and arduous march--which included an all-night forced march on July 1-2--the Fifth Corps arrived near Gettysburg in the early hours of July 2, 1863. 48 The Union had very nearly lost the first day of the battle of Gettysburg. Now, as the second day was dawning, this would be a very decisive engagement. The key part of the Union line ran from Cemetery Hill down along Cemetery Ridge to the south (see Appendix D). The predominant terrain on the southern flank of the Union position was a pair of hills known as Little Round Top and Big Round Top. The value in terrain such as the round tops is not necessarily as dominant terrain rather as strong points to anchor the flanks. To crush the enemy flank is always a worthwhile objective. That's why the defense seeks to place their flank troops on such difficult-to-attack terrain. In the confusion of re-positioning the Army of the Potomac, under the command of General George Meade, on 2 July the Round Tops were not included in the force laydown. When the chief Union engineer, General Gouverneur Warren, climbed Little Round Top on the afternoon of July 2nd, he was astounded to see that there were no Federal soldiers up there. Recognizing that end of the line was completely vulnerable, Warren stated "My God, here is a place that commands the entire left half of the field and here, my God, are Confederates coming to take it."49 He

immediately scrambled to find reserves-- somebody, anybody to send to the top to hold that summit.

He found Colonel Strong Vincent, who rushed his Third Brigade to Little Round Top. Vincent placed his regiments in a defensive line around the south spur of the hill, ending with the 20th Maine – commanded by Colonel Joshua Chamberlain. Chamberlain and his regiment had marched 107 miles in five days to include 26 miles during the last day and night. Strong Vincent stood next to him and gave him his final orders: "You are to defend this ground at all costs." If it fell into the hands of the Confederates, Lee would be triumphant. He might have his victory on Northern soil. The history of the war and the history of the country would be changed forever. And of all men, Joshua Chamberlain understood what was at stake. And he was determined to hold his ground.

Colonel Chamberlain recalled. "A strong fire opened at once from both sides, the enemy still advancing until they came within ten paces of our line. From that moment began a struggle fierce and bloody beyond any I have witnessed." Private Elisha Coan of the 20th Maine described the battleground: "Soon scattering musketry was heard in our front. Then the bullets began to clip twigs and cut the branches over our heads, and leaves began to fall actively at our feet. Every moment the bullets struck lower and lower until they began to take effect on our ranks. Then our line burst into flames, and the crash of musketry became constant." Chamberlain had the right wing of his regiment open themselves up into a single line as opposed to the traditional double rank of battle. So they could essentially cover twice as much ground. Chamberlain showed a skill common to good tactical leaders. He imagined threats to his unit, did what he could to guard against them, and considered what he would do to meet other possible threats.

Since his left flank was open, Chamberlain sent one of the companies, Company B, under the command of Walter G. Morrill, out to the left to guard against a flank and surprise attack. The captain positioned his men behind a stone wall that would face the flank of any Confederate advance. There, fourteen soldiers from the 2d US Sharpshooters, who had been separated from their unit, joined them (see Appendix E). The 20th Maine had been in position only a few minutes when the soldiers of the 15th and 47th Alabama attacked. The Confederates had also marched all night and were tired and thirsty. Even so, they attacked ferociously.⁵⁴ "At times, I saw around me more of the enemy than my own men: gaps opening, swallowing, closing again with convulsive energy. In the midst of this struggle, our ammunition utterly failed. Half my left wing already lay on the field."⁵⁵ What to do now?

Out of ammunition, still outnumbered two to one, can't hold it any longer. What Now? The responsibility and decision came to him. Limping along the line, due to injuries sustained by a flying shell fragment, cutting his right foot and a badly bruised left thigh when a musket ball was stopped by his sabre scabbard, Chamberlain made a command decision: A bayonet charge-counter attack from a defensive position. Drawing upon tactics that were non-standard, he ordered what was the left of the 20th Maine to execute a "right wheel forward" in two phases: first the left wing had to come on line with the right and then attack in unison down the rugged steep. Chamberlain's words echoed down the line, "We will charge them in a great giant wheel with the left wing coming out first as if it were a gate on a hinge." The imaginative tactics took the attacking Alabamians by surprise and overwhelmed them. The men of the 20th Maine stood up and began firing into the flank and rear of the Confederates thinking they were a

regiment. Several hundred of them surrendered, so many surrendered that it was difficult for the Maine men to keep track of them. In fact, it was a grand success born of desperation, but one that made this extreme left of the Union line safe. There can be no question that Little Round Top was the critical point of the battle on July 2nd. As Colonel Powell says in his, *History of the Fifth Corps*:

Historians have exhausted themselves in describing the actions at the 'Peach Orchard.'... Great stress has been laid on the results of Pickett's charge...but the truth of history is, that the little brigade of Vincent, with the self-sacrificing valor of the 20^{th} Maine, under the gallant leadership of Joshua L. Chamberlain, fighting among the rocks and scrub-oaks in the vale between the Round Tops and July 2, 1863, saved to the Union arms the historic field of Gettysburg. Had they faltered for one instant...Gettysburg would have been the mausoleum of departed hopes for the National cause...

Throughout the charge Joshua Chamberlain displayed physical courage and led by example. At one point a Confederate officer drew his pistol firing it from point blank range towards Chamberlain's head; missing he promptly surrendered and relinquished his sword to Chamberlain. However, the key is not physical courage, but moral courage. Clausewitz recognizes that the key is determination, the courage of acceptance of responsibility and ability to make decisions in uncertain situations, with much at risk. He also states that if the mind is to emerge unscathed from this relentless struggle with the unforeseen, two qualities are indispensable: first, an intellect that, even in the darkest hour, retains some glimmerings of the inner light which leads to truth; and, second, the courage to follow this faint light wherever it may lead. The expression, like the quality itself, has certainly always been more applicable to tactics but it must also have its place in strategy, since here quick decisions are often needed. If we consider the climate of war: danger, exertion, uncertainty and chance together, it becomes evident how fortitude

of mind and character are needed to make progress in these impeding elements with safety and success.⁵⁷

Later Colonel William C. Oates, 15th Alabama, Little Round Top, would write, "The words fix bayonets! flew from man to man. The click of the steel seemed to give new zeal to all. The men dashed forward with a shout. We ran like a herd of wild cattle. There never were harder fighters than the Twentieth Maine and their gallant Colonel. His skill and persistency and the great bravery of the men saved Little Round Top and the Army of the Potomac from defeat."58 The battle for Little Round Top was certainly testimony to Joshua Chamberlain's exemplary physical and moral courage, Clausewitz's first requirement for "Military Genius." What his action on Little Round Top reveals is a commander who, having received his orders for the battle, draws upon existing doctrine-both bayonet charges and "right wheels" which had been used many times in the pastand under extraordinarily stressful circumstances applied it in an innovative manner.⁵⁹ The decision that Chamberlain took: Despite orders, (many) others would have opted to retreat. He did not, even in a dire situation. His command and ensuing action of the 20th Maine are why he and his regiment have become part of the lore of the nation's history. Official records among his superiors, who were present on the battlefield, view his behavior as almost that of "genius", a tactical of extraordinary physical and moral courage. Warren Bennis argues that this type behavior demonstrates a willingness on the part of leaders to trust what Ralph Waldo Emerson called the "blessed impulse"--the hunch or vision that comes to an astute person in times of need.⁶⁰

Two days later, Colonel Joshua L. Chamberlain on July 4, 1863 wrote, "Our loss is terrible. But we are beating the rebels as they were never beaten before. The 20th has

immortalized itself." Chamberlain, the man of the mind (i.e., intellect and academic), increasingly was viewing the war as a test not only of the people to survive as a nation but as a very personal test of himself. He also recognized and accepted that war is violence and force, and this was reality. Somehow, he was rising to the test. But the most difficult part of that test was yet to come when, in the spring of 1864, the Fifth Corps was ordered south as part of Grant's bloody and relentless push toward Richmond.

STRENGTH AND SOUL OF A LION

The Clausewitzian methodology to warfare describes "War as the realm of physical exertion and suffering with man as an active, imaginative participant in the interrelated whole of nature, emphasizing the physical and psychological effects of the experience of combat on the men involved in it."61 He describes these effects as "friction", the only concept that more or less corresponds to the factors that distinguish real war from war on paper. "Friction" is caused mainly by the danger of war, by war's demanding physical efforts, and by the presence of unclear information or the fog of war. 62 It is a force that "Will destroy us unless we can make ourselves indifferent to them, and for this birth or training must provide us with certain strength of body and soul."63 Clausewitz identifies danger, exertion, uncertainty, intelligence, and chance as the components of general friction, and characterizes friction as a constant factor in war—one with which an effective general must have direct experience if he is to have any chance of overcoming it. The Civil War campaigns in which Joshua Chamberlain participated provide the necessary background to describe the level of physical exertion and suffering he endured. Still, despite these personal matters, Chamberlain was a commander – and had to command in combat, and did!

An awesome display of Joshua Chamberlain's strength of body and soul came in mid-June 1864; Grant's worn-out army arrived at Petersburg, Virginia, the main rail line into Richmond from the South. Now commander of a full brigade, Colonel Joshua Chamberlain prepared to do his part in the assault of this tactically critical city. He was about a mile or so with his brigade in front of the rest of the army and they looked out across an expanse to a line of entrenchments. In this tactical situation, little angle existed in the defensive line which would create a cross fire against any assaulting force. Once again leading from the front, Joshua Chamberlain called for the final bayonet charge against a numerically superior Confederate force. He led the charge on foot, for his horse had been shot out from under him during the assault on Rives Salient. It was deadly to charge but to conduct such an assault without a horse to ride might teeter on the side of insanity. When the color bearer was shot dead at his side, Chamberlain recovered the brigade banner and "raced forward in the face of fire so fierce that men leaned into it as they would toward a heavy wind." As he turned in an attempt to employ the brigade banner and his saber as signaling devices, he was shot through both hips by a single minie ball. Historian Willard Wallace described the moments after Chamberlain was shot: "Unable to move his feet and unwilling to fall, he thrust his sabre into the ground and rested both hands on the hilt."⁶⁵ From this position, he continued to shout the orders and direct the charge until the loss of blood overpowered his will and brought him first to his knees, then his elbows and finally to the ground. This grievous and near-mortal wound resulted in his battlefield promotion to Brigadier General and the printing of his obituary prematurely in the New York newspapers!⁶⁶ It's perhaps ironic that Chamberlain finally got his brigadier's star only at a time when it was thought he would

never get a chance to wear it. Grant gave him what was, he said, his only battlefield promotion to General of the entire war. General Grant had great respect for Joshua Chamberlain as described in his personal memoirs:

Colonel J.L. Chamberlain of the 20th Maine was wounded on the 18th. He was gallantly leading his brigade at the time, as he had been in the habit of doing in all engagements, in which he had been engaged. He had several times been recommended for a brigadier general for gallant and meritorious conduct. On this occasion, however, I promoted him on the spot and forwarded a copy of my order to the War Department.⁶⁷

Sometime after the war had ended Joshua Chamberlain reflected on the wounds he suffered on the battlefield in Petersburg: As he wrote,

We were charging the enemy works through an enfilading fire of shot and shell it was the worst charge I had ever seen, Balacava was nothing to it. The ground was plowed up two feet deep with the shell and the dirt and stones flying all around us as we advanced. I wondered if anything could reach that line. My horse was hit by the blast of a shell. I was running a head of my men waving my heavy cavalry saber urging them on. I had the colors in my left hand; my color bearer who rode at my side was killed.....I grabbed the colors and waved them to my troops. I was doing it when I was wounded; I turned toward the left showing my right side to the enemy, as I was wounded. The ball passing thorough each hip and from which the blood spurted as though a spicket. I was waving my sword at the time and my flag; it was my headquarters flag, a large triangle white flag with a red Maltese cross in the center. The blood ran out of me, it seemed like a couple of bucket fulls and I thought at the time as I looked at it this is against what all the books say about what is possible for a man to bleed. As I felt myself hit I brought down my sword point to the ground and bent my legs like a tripod. I gave the order as to the ax men come up and to avoid obstacles. The men saw I was wounded, but kept right on to either side of me. I then felt myself growing gradually weaker and slowly sank to my knees and then to the ground. I was considered mortally wounded and it was for that General Grant promoted on the field as brigadier general.⁶⁸

In time of battle, Joshua Chamberlain, like many effective Civil War leaders, seems to have concentrated so completely on the performance of his mission-related duties that he became almost totally oblivious to personal danger. In this, he was

facilitating the troops' accomplishment of their immediate tactical goal. This exceptionally useful psychological quality enabled him to provide the kind of personal example so necessary to the "validation of his leadership credentials." It was this fighting spirit with which Chamberlain identified himself so closely with the Army of the Potomac. Major General Charles Griffin, Fifth Corps Commander, deeply impressed with Joshua Chamberlain's leadership abilities and his impact upon the soldiers, commented that "it was always an inspiration to watch Chamberlain dashing from flank to flank of his brigade as he managed the battle and inspired his troops by personal example."

By the end of the war Joshua Chamberlain had been wounded six times.⁷¹ He had also seen the suffering of those around him. At Little Round Top alone, more than one third of his command was killed or wounded.⁷² As a commander, Joshua Chamberlain demonstrated remarkable compassion and strength for his men amidst it all. As Clausewitz would have assessed, courage might have enabled Chamberlain to triumph over the danger and exertion of combat, but only the combination of courage with heightened powers of intellect could elevate him to the level of military genius.

Clausewitz's view of the "Military Genius" lies in the temperament, intellect, strength of character and determination of an individual. "Three quarters of the factors on which action in war is based are wrapped in a fog of greater or lesser uncertainty." Clausewitz describes this uncertainty because he values the inquiring mind over the creative, the comprehensive approach in opposition to the specialized, and a calm disposition rather than the excitable. In time of war, "a sensitive and discriminating judgment is called for; a skilled intelligence to scent out the truth."

For Joshua Chamberlain the reality of uncertainty in war must have been quite disturbing because he had no previous military experience or training prior to the Civil War. Yet, he proved to have a natural high order of judgment that enabled him to see through the fog of uncertainty. His experience at Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Petersburg, and other minor battles Joshua Chamberlain demonstrated the soundness of his judgment in the face of enemy fire and maneuver. But it was his ability to recognize the human nature of soldiers that exemplifies his sensitive and discriminating judgment. The first example of this occurred in May 1863 just prior to the battle of Gettysburg; the 20th Maine was assigned a group of approximately 120 soldiers from the 2nd Maine Volunteer Infantry. The soldiers had signed three-year enlistment papers but were led to believe that their term of enlistment would expire at the end of June, 1863, as was the case with the remainder of the unit. For them, however, this was not true and these 120 soldiers had been marched to Chamberlain's unit under guard. Many of the men had expressed mutinous sentiments because they were informed that they would not be released and would be required to serve out the full term of their enlistment. Chamberlain was told by an emissary of the Fifth Corps commander, Major General George Meade, that he was free to shoot any man refusing to do his duty.⁷⁵

According to Clausewitz the uncertainty of war requires a "skilled intelligence to scent out the truth." He qualifies that truism with the notion that "usually intellectual inadequacy will be shown up by indifferent achievement." Chamberlain's achievements were far from indifferent. This point is further explained with Sun Tzu when he wrote, "a wise leader has the ability of recognizing changing situations and act accordingly." Chamberlain, exercising his usual tact, civility, and genuine concern for all

soldiers, assured these men that he would do what he could to have their grievances addressed on the condition that they perform their regular military duties in the meantime. Over the space of a few days Chamberlain's quiet comments and "firm but fair" behavior convinced all but six of the "mutineers" to accept his offer. Chamberlain's intuitive judgment had been sensitive and discriminating resulting in most of these men being instrumental in the defense of Little Round Top on July 2, 1863.⁷⁷

The second example of Joshua Chamberlain's sensitive and discriminating judgment took place at Appomattox Court House April 12, 1865. Now a Brevet Major General of Volunteers, Chamberlain had been chosen as commander of troops of a three brigade formation of veteran units of the Army of the Potomac at the surrender of General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Additionally, when General Grant chose General Chamberlain to conduct the surrender ceremony at Appomattox, signifying the end of the war, this reflected the trust and respect that Grant had in his subordinate. He went beyond the normal responsibilities of a commander that would ceremonially complete the Confederate surrender of arms and colors by lending cheer and comfort to the defeated Confederate troops. Per his request, Chamberlain's original brigade, the 3d Brigade, to include the 20th Maine, comprised the front rank of the formation and arranged them so that they could render a soldierly salute to their defeated foes as they passed before their victors; he thus added a measure of dignity to what would otherwise have been, at best, a humiliating experience. Recognizing the significance of the unexpected soldier's salutation, General John B. Gordon, head of the long grey column, returned the salute and ordered each Confederate brigade to do so the same as they passed by Chamberlain – "honor answering honor." Chamberlain wrote later that:

The momentous meaning of the occasion impressed me dearly. I resolved to mark it by some token of recognition, which could be no other than a salute of arms. I was well aware of the responsibility assumed, and of the criticism that would follow . . . My main reason . . . was one for which I sought no authority nor asked forgiveness . . . making memories that bound us together as no other bond—was not such manhood to be welcomed back into a Union so tested and assured?⁷⁸

He is reported to have spent the day conversing with the officers and enlisted men of the Confederate Army, doing what he could to cheer them up and to provide them with hope for the future. His attitude was buoyant. "It was our glory . . . that the victory we had won was for country, for the well-being of others, of these men before us as well as for ourselves and ours. Our joy was a deep, far, unspoken satisfaction." At the time, the future impact of this simple and noble salute by Joshua Chamberlain was uncertain; however, history has shown that it was an important and significant first step in the reunification of this great country of ours. Ken Burns, creator of the monumental television series on the Civil War, described Chamberlain's unusual actions as follows: "He is . . . a hero . . . at Appomattox. In my view, this was truly his finest hour. It was a different kind of heroism . . . that we need so desperately to be aware of today. In reconciliation, Chamberlain made his greatest contribution to war." Once again Chamberlain had demonstrated sensitive and discriminating judgment, a Clausewitzian requirement for "Military Genius."

CONCLUSION

Joshua Chamberlain was a gifted intellectual who displayed superior command leadership, imaginative planning, and aggressive conduct during the Civil War providing a powerful example of exceptional combat leadership. The employment of his intellect in solving battlefield challenges resides in his ability to exhibit all the qualities identified

under the Clausewitizian criteria for "Military Genius." Chamberlain was a problemsolver. By nature, he applied intellectual energy to overcome current—and
anticipated—challenges. The complex, fluid environment of war demands the
institutionalization of this intellectual energy to affect the necessary changes required to
influence the nature and alter the character of armed combat. He possessed a longing
for honor and renown, and had a thorough grasp of national policy. He was competent at
what he did. He was honest and honorable in his dealings with superiors, peers, and
subordinates—a man to count on. He was inspiring both in speech, writing and action, a
person who captured the imagination and quickened the heart. Chamberlain was a man
of character, blessing him with both good nature and good nurture. He seems to have
inherited "good genes". He certainly received an excellent education, both as a youth and
as a young man, then trained via book and experience in the profession of arms and
excelled at both. He had the good fortune to be born at the "right time", one in which
there were numerous opportunities to excel—to "make a mark".

In addition, Chamberlain determined early in life to develop within himself the ability to confront life's challenges directly, and to perform high quality work in all his varied endeavors. He "did things right", never compromising strongly held principles for the sake of bureaucratic advantage--and thus demonstrated both intellectual acumen and "the right instincts". He seemed determined always to be an "event maker", rather than one upon whom events acted. Although Chamberlain was functioning at the tactical level of war throughout his service in the Civil War, he displayed the attributes of "Military Genius" as defined by that Prussian theorist, even at the tactical level of war.

Since Clausewitz, the character of genius has changed somewhat still, the more successful leaders are those who can process vast quantities of information filtering out the irrelevant or contradictory pieces and choosing an appropriate course of action. I believe that these characteristics of "Military Genius" are as valuable in today's environment as they were in Clausewitz's day. This study concludes that military command leaders are made, not born, and looking through the lens of the Clausewitzian "Military Genius" the traits of leadership are still applicable to contemporary leaders today.

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⁵⁵ Desjardin, 2000.

⁵⁶ Pfanz, p. 215-219.

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⁶³ Clausewitz, *On War*, p. 119.

⁶⁴ Wallace, p. 131.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 132.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 136.

⁶⁷ Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, New York: Library of America, 1903, p. 601-602.

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⁷⁸ Joshua L. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1915) p. 260.

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⁸⁰ Ken Burns, "Four O'clock in the Morning Courage," in Ken Burns' The Civil War:Historians Respond, ed. Robert B. Toplin (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 158.

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⁸² Steven W. Knott, "Knowledge Must Become Capability: Institutional Intellectualism as an Agent for Military Transformation," Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September, 2004, p.23.

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Appendix A Chronology of Key Events

<u>Date</u> <u>Key Event</u>

September 8, 1828 Born at Brewer, Maine

August 1855 Graduation from Bangor Theological Seminary

December 7, 1855 Marries Fannie Adams

1861 Professor at Bowdoin College

August 8, 1862 Mustered in as Lieutenant Colonel of Maine's Twentieth

Infantry Regiment

September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam

December 13, 1862 Battle of Fredericksburg

April 30 – May 6, 1863 Battle of Chancellorsville

June 23, 1863 Promoted to Colonel and given the command of Maine's

Twentieth Infantry Regiment

July 1-3, 1863 Battle of Gettysburg

July 2, 1863 Command of Little Round Top

May 7-19, 1864 Battle of Spotsylvania

June 1864 Command of the First Brigade, Fifth Corps

June 1-3, 1864 Battle of Cold Harbor

June 9, 1864 Battle of Petersburg

June 18, 1864 Rives' Salient, Chamberlain seriously wounded

General Grant gives Chamberlain a Brigadier-Generalcy

for gallant and meritorious conduct

March 29, 1865 Battle of Quaker Road, Chamberlain grievously wounded

April 1, 1865 Battle of Five Forks

April 9, 1865 Appomattox Court House

May 23, 1865	Final Review Army of the Potomac

January 15, 1866 Chamberlain mustered out of service

September 1866-1869 Chamberlain served as Governor of Maine

July 20, 1870 Chamberlain offers King William of Prussia his services

for the war in Europe

1871-1883 President of Bowdoin College Brunswick, Maine

August 17, 1893 Awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for

distinguished gallantry at the battle of Gettysburg, July 2,

1863

March 20, 1900 Appointed Surveyor of the Port of Portland by President

McKinley

1913 Chamberlain wrote "My Story of Fredericksburg" and

"Through Blood & Fire at Gettysburg"

May 1913 Chamberlain made his last known visit to Gettysburg

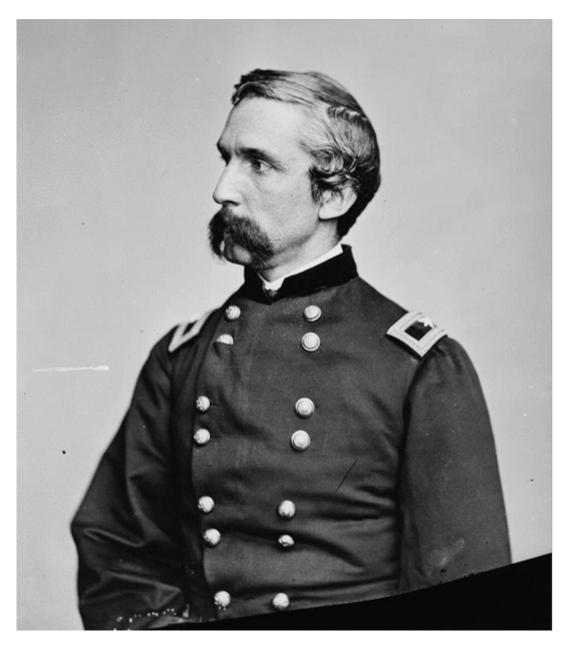
February 24, 1914 Died at Portland, Maine

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Appendix B Colonel Chamberlain



Colonel Chamberlain during the Civil War

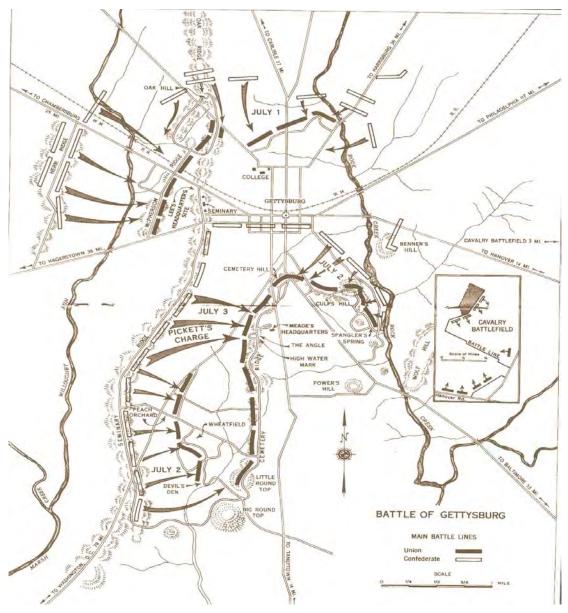
Source: www.civilwaracademy.com

Appendix C Guide to "Military Genius"

	Guide to Comprehending the "Military Genius"			
Attributes	Meaning (Clausewitz)	Meaning (Author)		
Courage	"Courage is of two kinds: Courage in the face of danger, and the courage to accept responsibility."	The genius for war represents a totality, because it comprises all the facets of a personality, both rational and emotional. It is the physical courage that is inherent to the "Military Genius." Such leaders is this indifferent to danger, hence reliable, calm and more dependable; they act without excessive feeling or emotion due to their connection to ambition or patriotism.		
Strength of Body and Soul	"War is the realm of physical exertion and suffering. These will destroy us unless we can make ourselves indifferent to them, and for this birth or training must provide us with a certain strength of body and soul."	The holistic element of the "Military Genius" consists of three essential sets of skills or competencies required – work skills, people skills, and self-skills. Work skills are those competencies that require the genius of war to be technically good at what they do. This is the content or		
Sensitive and Discriminating Judgment	"Three quarters of the factors on which action in war is based are wrapped in a fog of greater or lesser uncertainty." Clausewitz describes this uncertainty because he values the inquiring mind over the creative, the comprehensive approach in opposition to the specialized, and a calm disposition rather than the excitable. In time of war, "a sensitive and discriminating judgment is called for; a skilled intelligence to scent out the truth."	specific areas of expertise that must be mastered in order to be successful on the battlefield. <i>People skills</i> are those competencies that enable a leader to successfully interact with individuals and groups. These are the interpersonal skills that enable the ongoing exchange of information between people so vital to mission accomplishment. <i>Self-skills</i> are the intrapersonal competencies that set true "Military Genius" apart from the masses. Self-skills are essentially invisible from the outside looking in. They are sensed or felt, rather than observed. Intangible as they may be,		
Skilled Intelligence	"The uncertainty of war requires a skilled intelligence to scent out truth. He qualifies that truism with the notion that usually intellectual	self-skills are the core competencies that make such a profound difference in the quality and depth of the "Military Genius."		

	T	
	inadequacy will be shown up	
	by indifferent achievement."	
Intellect	"The expression presence of	The genius for war is dynamic in a
(Presence of	mind precisely conveys the	vitalistic sense. This requires the
Mind and	speed and immediacy of the	"Military Genius" to have a strong
Imagination)	help provided by the intellect.	mind as opposed to brilliant. They
	The "Military Genius" needs a	react to a situation with sensitive,
	sense of locality which is the	discriminating, and intuitive
	faculty of quickly and	judgment.
	accurately grasping the	
	topography of any area. It is	
	an act of imagination."	
Determination	"The role of determination is	Determination is the courage to
and Character	to limit the agonies of doubt	accept responsibility in the face of
	and perils of hesitation when	moral danger. The genius for war is
	the motives for action are	structured in an egalitarian way,
	inadequate."	which presumes that any individual,
		regardless of background, could lead
		a body of troops in combat as long as
		the leader had the requisite ability.

Appendix D
Map of Gettysburg

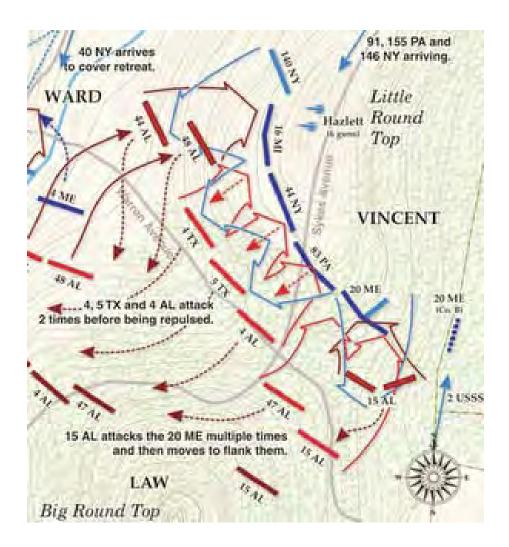


Three day map of the Battle of Gettysburg, "A Filed Guide for Educators." Courtesy of GNMP

Author's Note:

Two brigades of Heth's Division were sent forward and attacked Union General John Buford's Cavalry early in the morning. There were three times as many Rebels as there were Yankees, but Buford knew that Gettysburg was very important. Many roads, ridges, and hills surrounded Gettysburg, so he did his best to hold his position. His dismounted troops (cavalrymen fighting without their horses) fought off the Confederates long enough for the U.S. First Corps infantry to arrive on McPhersons Ridge. He did well at first, but more Confederate were coming from the west and north.

Appendix E
Map of Little Round Top



Map of Little Round Top Defense

Obab.blogspot.com

Author's Note:

The Union's far left was held by the 20th Maine under the command of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain. Confederate forces had hoped to smash the far left and gain the high ground on Union forces. From this position the Union would be forced from the battlefield. The regiment's left wing would swing around "like a barn door on a hinge" until it was even with the right wing. Then the entire regiment, bayonets fixed, would charge downhill, staying anchored to the 83d Pennsylvania on its right.

Appendix F Chamberlain's Charge



Artist Mort Kunstler's depiction of Col. Joshua Chamberlain leading bayonet charge at Little Round Top during the Battle of Gettysburg.

Author's Note:

Whether or not, this painting depicts the mythical imagery associated with Chamberlain and the 20^{th} Maine's bayonet charge on July 2, 1863 from a defensive position at Little Round Top. Note Chamberlain leading with his drawn sword, the national colors behind him, and the individual fighting to his right.

Bibliography

In accomplishing the research for this paper, many books and articles provided necessary background Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and command leadership. This background was useful for the author in order to become acutely familiar with Chamberlain himself. Beyond the background, there are some resources in this bibliography that proved to be extremely useful in performing the analysis of the thesis. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain's Bayonet Forward: My Civil War Reminiscences and The Passing of Armies were especially helpful because it is very well written and provides direct insights from the individual. It was particularly useful to compare Chamberlain's recollections of events against other noted historians' views. There is a wealth of information available on Chamberlain which allowed for consistent themes to develop with an occasional unique perspective from an author on a subject commented on by many others. Edward Longacre's Joshua Chamberlain The Soldier and The Man, was particularly useful as Longacre provided an objective view, with considerable detail in describing Chamberlain's formative years. Willard Wallace's Soul of the Lion: A Biography of General Joshua L. Chamberlain is a well-researched and written book that entices you with facts and stories superbly intertwined. Wallace's most fluid writing is found in his retelling of the Civil War, specifically his chapter on Chamberlain's Gettysburg glory. The entire battle is brought to life with vivid realism, and one can almost feel the weight bearing upon Chamberlain's shoulders as he agonized over how to hold Little Round Top "until the last." Beyond describing Joshua Chamberlain, Wallace has told with sympathy, insight and understanding, the life story of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain.

Working on a topic involving two major figures who have mythical standing: Clausewitz and Chamberlain, creates a challenging endeavor. The study of Clausewitz is not easy. Peter Paret, an acknowledged expert on Clausewitizian theory, states anyone who "opens On War with the expectation of easily separating the valuable kernels of pure gold from the chaff of antiquarian detail will be frustrated." Difficult as his writing maybe Clausewitz provides so many insights relevant to a generation, the nature of whose problems he could not possibly have foreseen. Clausewitz's approach to theory may be seen not only in terms of how it might improve an individual's decision-making capacity in war, but also in terms of how it might be an academic model applicable to the development of the ability to do anything that is difficult, complex, contingent, and dangerous. Clausewitz realized that despite training and planning, chance inevitably affected the course of war. He taught that it should be regarded as a positive element to be exploited to the fullest extent possible. Leading men and women under such circumstances is, by definition, a creative act. Yet some men are more creative than others. Alice Rains Trulock's In the Hands of Providence Joshua L. Chamberlain & the American Civil War, captures Joshua Chamberlain's creative leadership by saying his "inspiration was a noble cause involving human interest that was wide and far which enabled his men to do things they did not dream themselves capable of before, and which they were not capable of alone. The consciousness of belonging, vitally, to something

beyond individuality, of being part of a personality that reaches we know not where, in space and time, greatens the heart to the limits of the soul's ideal."

But I think I should let Chamberlain himself have the last word, for by his life and in his service he proved its fundamental truth: "War is for the participants a test of character: it makes bad men worse and good men better."

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